

change treaty and so-called bridge building between East and West serves the Reds to spread their propaganda lies here.

TEDIS ZIERINS.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE FOR 1968

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this morning, the President of the United States presented the National Medal of Science for 1968 to 12 distinguished scientists who have served our country through their outstanding contributions in the physical, biological, mathematical and engineering sciences. These medals were authorized by the Congress in 1959 to provide recognition for the important contributions to America's progress made by our scientists.

It is a pleasure to join with the President and the Nation in honoring these 12 men and I am placing their names in

the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD along with a brief description of their accomplishments:

RECIPIENTS OF THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE FOR 1968

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

H. Albert Barker, for his profound study of the chemical activities of microorganisms, including the unraveling of fatty acid metabolism and the discovery of the active coenzyme form of vitamin B₁₂.

Bernard B. Brodie, for pioneering new qualitative concepts which have revolutionized the development, the study, and the effective use of therapeutic agents in the treatment of human disease.

Detlev W. Bronk, for his highly original research in the field of physiology and for his manifold contributions to the advance of science and its institution in the service of society.

Jay L. Lush, for bringing the science of genetics to bear upon animal breeding, and thus helping to remould the flocks and herds of America and Western Europe.

B. Frederic Skinner, for basic and imaginative contributions to the study of behavior which have had profound influence upon all of psychology and many related areas.

ENGINEERING SCIENCES

J. Presper Eckert, for pioneering and continuing contributions in creating, develop-

ing, and improving the high-speed electronic digital computer.

Nathan M. Newmark, for contributions to the development of powerful and widely used methods for analyzing complex structural components and assemblies under a variety of conditions of loading.

MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

Jerzy Neyman, for laying the foundations of modern statistics and devising tests and procedure that have become essential parts of the knowledge of every statistician.

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Paul D. Bartlett, for his leadership in advancing our understanding of the mechanisms by which chemical reactions take place, and for his success in training younger teachers and researchers.

Herbert Friedman, for pioneering work in rocket and satellite astronomy and in particular for his contributions to the field of X-ray astronomy.

Lars Onsager, for a brilliant variety of seminal contributions to the understanding of electrolytes and other chemical systems, especially to the thermodynamics of systems in change.

Eugene P. Wigner, for his many unique innovations in the physical, mathematical and engineering sciences ranging from quantum chemistry to nuclear theory and from reactor engineering to civil defense.

SENATE—Monday, January 20, 1969

(Legislative day of Friday, January 10, 1969)

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of our Fathers and our God, before whom the generations rise and pass, on this high day when vows are made and dedications reaffirmed, make us indeed "one nation under God with liberty and justice for all."

Give Thy special aid and grace to the President. Be his counselor and defense. Give him faith, wisdom, courage, health, and patience. Keep him in safety and grant that, relying on Thee and seeking to do Thy will, he may inspire and guide the Nation in the way of righteousness and lasting peace.

May Thy special blessing rest upon the Members of the Senate. In times demanding keen minds, compassionate hearts, courageous spirits, resolute faith and willing hands, so may they stand above all trivialities, and petty rivalries, to serve this Nation in the higher order of Thy kingdom.

By the light of Thy pervading spirit bind us together as one mighty people in the unity of Thy spirit and in the bonds of peace. And may the love and loyalty of all the people transcend all lesser loves and loyalties and be given in full measure to Thee.

In Jesus' name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, January 17, 1969, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS

Under authority of the order of the Senate of January 17, 1969, the following messages from the President of the United States were received by the Secretary of the Senate:

On January 18, 1969:

Two postmaster nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, as follows:

Noah C. Atkins, to be postmaster at Jackson, Ky.; and

Walter E. Comstock, to be postmaster at Williamstown, Vt.

On January 19, 1969:

Sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees, and the withdrawal of the nomination of R. Todd O'Flynn, to be postmaster at Philpot, Ky.

(For nominations received above, see the end of Senate proceedings of today.)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF CONSIDERATION OF NOMINATIONS THIS AFTERNOON

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the majority leader has asked me to announce that this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Senate will meet to confirm the non-controversial nominations of the President. The majority leader has recommended that at 3 o'clock, because of the seriousness of the nature of the business, we have a live quorum.

Mr. President, we anticipate leaving for the inaugural ceremonies at 10:50 a.m., and it is appropriate that Members of the Senate be aware of that procession.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO 3 P.M.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate proceeds in a body to the inaugural ceremonies, it stand in recess until 3 p.m. today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT ON NATIONAL HOUSING GOALS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the first annual report on National Housing Goals, as required by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

That Act affirmed the national goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." It determined that this goal can be achieved by constructing or rehabilitating 26 million housing units in the next decade, 6 million of which will be for low- and moderate-income families.

This report lays out a plan for housing production to meet this goal. It also identifies the potential problems that may be faced in the coming year.

—It notes the sensitivity of residential building to credit conditions.

—It reviews the long-run need for adequate labor, land and materials to maintain an increasing level of construction.

The housing goals of the 1968 Act are firm national commitments. I urge the Congress, State and local officials, and concerned individuals to give careful consideration to this report.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 17, 1969.

REPORTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the 1966 and 1967 Annual Reports of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The Reports record a number of important events in both years. They were momentous years in legislative enactments as well as in progress toward providing decent housing for all Americans and in the efforts to improve the quality of urban life.

In 1966, Congress enacted the legislation authorizing the Model Cities Program, one of the most important legislative events in the long chronology of Federal actions aimed at curing the physical and human blight in the Nation's urban areas.

During the period, the programs administered by the Department were continuing at an accelerated rate, while at the same time HUD was seeking and finding new directions and redirections in its programs.

We have developed good housing programs spanning the whole range of American economic life—from FHA insurance for moderate income families to rent supplements and low-rent public housing for the poorest families. Urban renewal programs are rebuilding vast sections of our cities. Programs are available and working for whole metropolitan areas to improve transportation and planning, to preserve and create open spaces, to install water and sewer systems.

The Nation can be proud of the beginning steps that have been taken in these past few years to deal with the serious problems of our urban areas. I commend these reports to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 17, 1969.

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE ACT OF 1962—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

To the Congress of the United States:

Under Section 404 of the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, I hereby

transmit the sixth annual report on this program.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 17, 1969.

REPORT OF THE CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress, as required by law, the First Annual Report of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 17, 1969.

REPORT ON STATUS OF THE NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Fifth Annual Report on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

Wilderness is at the heart of America's heritage. It has had immeasurable impact on our nation's character, and on those who made its history. Its beauty and majesty have enriched the nation's spirit.

Forty-three years ago, conservationist Aldo Leopold said:

Wilderness certainly can not be built at will, like a city park or a tennis court. . . . Neither can a wilderness be grown like timber, because it is something more than trees . . . if we want wilderness, we must foresee our want and preserve the proper areas against the encroachment of inimical uses.

In 1964, Congress recognized this need and established 54 National Forest areas as the nucleus of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

During the 90th Congress, I submitted recommendations for 30 additions to the System. Action was completed on four of these during the last year. Another was added in connection with legislation for Washington's North Cascades. Altogether, some 800,000 acres were placed under the permanent protection of the Wilderness Act.

I am now sending to the Congress 13 additional wilderness proposals. One would designate about 323,000 acres within the Ashley and Wasatch National Forests of Utah as the High Uintas Wilderness. The remaining 12 proposals would create wilderness areas within several different wildlife refuges. I am also transmitting the results of Interior Department review of the Bear River Wilderness proposal. The Secretary of the Interior does not recommend wilder-

ness status for this area, and I concur in that recommendation.

I urge early and favorable action on the new proposals as well as on those I submitted previously.

The future character of America depends on what constructive actions we take today. We can destroy our country by neglect, just as surely as we can save its great, God-given beauty by showing true concern.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 18, 1969.

REPORT ON MANPOWER—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

To the Congress of the United States:

It is with great pride that I submit this, the final Manpower Report of my Presidency. It describes the most favorable employment record in many years and the policies and programs that have made this progress possible. It also sets forth the agenda for further improvements in the use of the Nation's manpower and for continued economic prosperity.

This Report records the Nation's ability and continuing progress to meet one of the most basic needs of its people and represents a valid gauge of the Nation's essential strength.

The overriding significance of the Report is found in its concern for people, the most precious resource of this Nation—teenagers with futures to build, men and women with families to feed and house and educate, elderly citizens with productive years still ahead.

I commend this Report to your careful attention as the profile of America at work today. It is a record of promises made, of achievements and of hopes aroused. A new sense of dignity, a new chance for fulfillment, a new vision of the future have touched the lives of many millions because of what these pages tell.

Although there is ample cause for satisfaction in this Report, there is none for complacency. What we have accomplished helps to describe the dimensions of what is still undone. But those achievements, incomplete as they are, also serve to show what can be done.

With a strong economy as the lifeline, special manpower programs—those we have tried and those still to be tested in the years ahead—can help men and women whom the economy would otherwise by-pass.

The road we are on is a long one. But the milestones we have already passed tell us it is the right road.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1969.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message

from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress this Third Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Report describes the many ways in which the Endowment, though in operation for only three years, is helping scholars extend the knowledge and wisdom needed for human understanding, and helping teachers develop better ways of making the humanities meaningful to their students. The Report shows that in Fiscal Year 1968 the Endowment supported the Humanities with grants to individuals and institutions in 44 States and the District of Columbia.

I commend this Report to the Congress, with satisfaction that a real beginning has been made in increasing Americans' awareness of their priceless cultural heritage.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 18, 1969.

REPORT OF THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Public Works:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Annual Report of the Appalachian Regional Commission for Fiscal Year 1968.

This marks the halfway point in a six-year development program intended to close the economic gap between the Appalachian Region and the rest of the Nation.

In many ways the Appalachian program has been an experiment. At the end of this third year, it is possible to say that that experiment has proven itself successful—even if it is not possible to fully measure the impact of all its provisions.

Throughout the mountains and valleys of the thirteen Appalachian States, the three-year results of this program are highly visible—not only on the landscape but in the new hopes of its people.

There are 116.5 miles of new highways completed, with another 357.4 miles under construction—drastically reducing isolation and opening up new opportunities to the people of the region.

There are 36 new or expanded airports, assuring many communities of the commercial and developmental advantages of the air age.

More than 160 vocational education schools are training thousands of students who might have been dropouts—giving them modern skills to secure employment.

Over 170 new or improved hospitals and health facilities are providing modern health care to a people who have long been denied the basic health service

which most Americans have taken for granted.

There are 127 institutions of higher education which have been assisted—and they are on the way to giving the best education possible to the young people of Appalachia.

All this and more—libraries, low and moderate income housing projects, educational television stations, water and sewer systems: hundreds of separate projects are at work to reclaim lives and enhance the land that was ravaged by erosion, strip mining, underground mine fires and floods.

The story of Appalachia is a story of growing hope.

I hope the 91st Congress will continue and strengthen the Appalachian Program.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 18, 1969.

TRIBUTE TO LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

Mr. CANNON, Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to President Lyndon Baines Johnson. With compassion and commitment, with intensity and dedication, President Johnson has served our country through times of extraordinary challenge and peril. He leaves to us a distinguished legacy of legislative accomplishments that will enhance his stature in time to come.

Having assumed the Presidency beneath the shadow of national tragedy, President Johnson launched a legislative program unparalleled in scope. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the open housing legislation of 1968; medicare and the landmark education legislation of 1965; the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968; legislation to protect the consumer, to fight poverty and unemployment, and to combat air and water pollution—all of these legislative achievements have taken the immense initial steps toward changing the quality of American life, toward remedying our national weaknesses and invigorating our national strengths. It is my hope that this concept of Federal responsibility will continue to be nourished by future administrations. It is my conviction that the continuation of these priorities is essential to our future.

For the capstones of his career—the stunning success of Apollo 8 and the propitious beginning of the Paris peace talks—I congratulate the President. But it is above all for his human qualities, for his steady and undeviating fortitude, for his compassionate understanding, for his being a caring person in spite of undeserved reproach, that I so much admire the President. He is an uncommon man with uncommon qualities. I am proud to have had the privilege of working with Lyndon Johnson as majority leader of the Senate, and Vice President, and as President of the United States.

A tribute to the President would not be complete without recognizing the contribution of Mrs. Johnson to the Johnson years. To her role as First Lady she brought a rare grace and dignity, a sensitive and resilient intelligence, and a contagious sense of involvement in the issues of our time, especially in conserving

our natural resources and beautifying our scarred national landscape.

Mrs. Cannon and I have been enriched by the friendship and inspired by the leadership of both the President and his First Lady. They have won our admiration and our affection. To both of them we extend our warmest good wishes for the fulfillment of their years as private citizens.

THE TIME IS NOW TO RATIFY THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—VII

Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. President, in a message to the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year, President-elect Richard M. Nixon stated:

The struggles that divide the world today center on questions of human rights. It is America's role and responsibility as the brightest beacon of freedom, so to conduct itself as to provide an example that will truly light the world.

Today we witness the swearing in of Richard M. Nixon as the 37th President of the United States. Today, under the Constitution, great powers to govern this Nation will be given him. Today he will begin to carry out his pledge to move the Nation forward together.

It is fitting, therefore, that we as a Nation reaffirm the principles on which this Nation was founded by ratifying the human rights conventions. It is my fervent hope that President Nixon will place his power and direction behind these treaties.

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senate will organize and proceed to the inauguration ceremonies.

RECESS

Mr. KENNEDY. I move that the Senate stand in recess, in accordance with the previous order, until 3 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 10 o'clock and 45 minutes a.m.) the Senate took a recess until 3 p.m.

PROCESSION TO THE INAUGURAL PLATFORM

The Members of the Senate, headed by the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL), the Secretary of the Senate (Mr. Francis R. Valeo), and the Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., proceeded to the inaugural platform and were seated in section 4.

The Members of the House of Representatives, headed by the Speaker, Mr. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and the Clerk of the House (Mr. William Pat Jennings), proceeded to the inaugural platform, and were seated in the places assigned to them in sections 1 and 4.

The Governors of the States were

escorted by Mr. Brownrigg to the places assigned them in section 3 on the inaugural platform.

The members of the diplomatic corps were escorted by Mr. Kimmitt to section 2.

The members of the Cabinet of the President-elect were escorted by Mr. Dompier to the President's platform.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, preceded by the Court's marshal and clerk, were escorted to their seats on the President's platform.

Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Humphrey were escorted to their seats on the President's platform by Mrs. Ford.

Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Agnew were escorted to their seats on the President's platform by Mrs. Dirksen.

Members of the committee on arrangements, accompanied by Mr. William McWhorter Cochrane, escorted to the inaugural platform: the President, the Vice President, Senator DIRKSEN, and Speaker McCORMACK.

(The U.S. Marine Corps Band played ruffles and flourishes—"Hail to the Chief.")

Members of the Committee on Arrangements, accompanied by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate (Mr. Robert G. Dunphy) and the Sergeant at Arms of the House (Mr. Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.) escorted to the inaugural platform: the Vice-President-elect, Senator DIRKSEN, and Representative FORD.

(The U.S. Marine Corps Band played a fanfare.)

The committee on arrangements, accompanied by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives, and by Executive Director Trice, escorted to the inaugural platform: The President-elect; Senator DIRKSEN and Representative FORD; Senator MANSFIELD, and Speaker McCORMACK; and Senator JORDAN of North Carolina and Representative ALBERT.

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE VICE PRESIDENT

The inaugural ceremonies began at 11 o'clock and 45 minutes a.m.; with the playing of "Stars and Stripes Forever," by the U.S. Marine Corps Band.

INVOCATION

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN (chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies). Mr. President, Mr. President-elect, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice-President-elect, and my fellow citizens, I present for the invocation the Right Reverend Charles Ewbank Tucker.

The Reverend Charles Ewbank Tucker, presiding bishop, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us but unto Thy name, we give the glory.

Our Father, who art in Heaven. Hallowed by Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we for-

give those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known and from whom no secrets are hid. Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy Holy Name.

At this solemn moment, when the sun will soon begin to take its daily trek and will come to rest in the bosom of the western horizon, let all nature by pantomime and silent eloquence proclaim Thy Glory, dominion, and power in Heaven and in earth.

In this grandiloquent silence we lift our voices to Thee in praise and adoration.

In these troubled times of global turmoil and unrest, our Father, we turn to Thee. Give to our Nation a clear vision of the highest good and our leaders a clear judgment as to how the good may be obtained. And at this time we would humbly beseech Thee to bestow a special blessing upon our beloved President, Richard Milhous Nixon, and his family.

We thank Thee for his exemplary life, for his unswerving allegiance, fidelity and devotion to America and the ideals for which he stands: freedom, justice, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We thank Thee for his unstinted service to the Nation in yesteryear. Be his bastion of strength and comfort as he assumes the herculean and awesome responsibilities of the Presidency and the concomitant responsibility as leader of the free nations of the world.

Endow him with spiritual wisdom to make the right decisions that may well determine the fate of mankind, and civilization itself.

God of grace, and God of glory, on Thy people pour Thy power. Give us wisdom, and give us courage for the facing of this hour.

This we ask in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

SELECTION BY U.S. MARINE CORPS BAND

Mr. DIRKSEN. We will now be favored by that incomparable musical unit, the U.S. Marine Corps Band, under the direction of Lt. Col. Albert F. Schoepper. [Applause.]

(The U.S. Marine Corps Band played "God Bless America.")

PRAYER

Mr. DIRKSEN. Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, doctor of divinity, will now lead us in prayer.

Rabbi MAGNIN. In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth, and the darkness was upon the face of the deep. God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. This was not the light of the sun nor the moon, nor a billion blazing worlds. It was the Shekinah, the Logos, the Word, the Divine Presence, that was to reflect itself upon the human mind and soul.

This is the light that brought man out of the cave, and endowed him with intelligence, morality, the yearning for freedom, that inspired the prophets and sages of old and through all ages.

This is the American ideal, born at the time of creation itself, cherished by the Founding Fathers, who were practical idealists. They knew history well. They warned against the dangers of ignorance, stupidity, apathy, selfishness, immorality, and dissension within our borders and between nations. They knew full well that patience, courage, good will, and cooperation were preferable to hysteria and emotionalism, and that age-old problems and complex problems cannot be solved with instant answers and simple answers. They knew that there is no substitute in the world for common-sense.

The night is long, and it is still dark as far as civilization goes. We will never be perfect, for man is not perfect; but we are on the way. Our country is still great, and it will be greater, with hope in our hearts, and work and rededication. There are a few faint streaks of pink in the sky. We await the dawn.

Almighty God, bless our country and him who will be our leader and our guide in the coming years.

Our fathers' God, to Thee

Author of liberty,

To Thee we sing.

Long may our land be bright

With Freedom's holy light,

Protect us by Thy might,

Great God, our King.

Amen.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO THE VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT

Mr. DIRKSEN. My fellow Americans, it is my honor and my privilege to administer the oath of office to the Vice-President-elect.

Mr. DIRKSEN administered to the Vice President-elect the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution, which Mr. AGNEW repeated, as follows:

I, SPIRO THEODORE AGNEW, solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign, and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.

PRAYER

Mr. DIRKSEN. We shall now have a prayer by His Eminence Iakovos.

The Most Reverend Iakovos, primate of North and South America for the Greek Orthodox Church, offered the following prayer:

In true and full realization of the solemnity of this historic moment, we bow our heads while we lift up our hearts in deep humility and thank Thee, O Lord, for gathering the soul of our Nation, united in prayer, and supplication, on this Capitol Hill.

We humbly beseech Thee, O Master of our destiny, to look favorably upon Thy faithful servant, Richard Milhous Nixon, and endow him with holiness of purpose and with total commitment and dedication, and so that he may serve Thee and Thy way for men throughout his years of administration. Illumine the mind of our new President so that through his

words, and pronouncements, and deeds he may lead us to a new appreciation of all that is true, honest, just, pure, and of noble intention, both in government and society. Grant him the power to overcome evil with good, injustice with justice, hatred with love, bias with equal treatment, violence with compassion, war with peace, and together with his Vice President and associates, to attain peace and unity at home and abroad, thus healing the wounds of division which cause so much pain and anguish to us all.

Incline Thine ear, O Masterful Prince of Peace and hearken to these agonizing petitions, and the cry of our revived and fervent hopes; for Thou hast said, "Ask and it shall be given you." And unto Thee we put our trust and we ascribe glory and adoration to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. World without end. Amen.

SELECTION BY MORMON TABERNACLE CHOIR

Mr. DIRKSEN. Doubtless the world's greatest and most celebrated singing unit is the Mormon Tabernacle Choir of Salt Lake City, which will now sing "This Is My Country."

(The Mormon Tabernacle Choir sang "This Is My Country.")

PRAYER

Mr. DIRKSEN. The beloved minister-evangelist known in all corners of the earth will now deliver a prayer.

The Reverend Billy Graham offered the following prayer:

Our Father and our God, Thou hast said, "Blessed is that nation whose God is the Lord." We recognize on this historic occasion that we are "a nation under God." We thank Thee for this torch of faith handed to us by our forefathers. May we never let it be extinguished. Thou alone hast given us our prosperity, our freedom and our power. This faith in God is our heritage and our foundation.

Thou hast warned us in the Scriptures, "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" As George Washington reminded us, morality and faith are the pillars of our society. We confess these pillars are being eroded in an increasingly materialistic and permissive society. The whole world is watching to see if the faith of our fathers will stand the trials and tests of this hour. Too long we have neglected Thy word and ignored Thy laws. Too long we have tried to solve our problems without reference to Thee. Too long we have tried to live by bread alone. We have sown to the wind and are now reaping a whirlwind of crime, division, and rebellion.

And now with the wages of our sins staring us in the face, we remember Thy words, "If my people who are called by my Name shall humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sins and will heal their land."

Help us this day to turn from our sins and to turn by simple faith to the One who said, "Ye must be born again."

So we pray, O God, as we enter a new era, that we as a nation may experience a moral and spiritual restoration.

Thou hast said, "Promotion comes not from the east nor from the west, but from Thee." We acknowledge Thy divine help in the selection of our leadership each 4 years. We recognize, O Lord, that in Thy sovereignty Thou hast permitted Richard Nixon to lead us at this momentous hour of our history.

We beseech Thee that he will have Thy divine guidance and power daily. Help him as Thou didst help Thy servants of old. Our Father, we know his burdens and responsibilities will be overwhelming. He will hold in his hands the destiny of more people than any man in history. O God, our new President needs Thee as no man has ever needed Thee in leading a people. There will be times when he will be overwhelmed by the problems at home and abroad that have been building for many years. Give him supernatural wisdom, courage, and strength for these 4 years. Protect him and his family from physical danger. And in the lonely moments of decision grant him an uncompromising courage to do what is morally right. Give him a cool head and a warm heart. Give him a compassion for those in physical, moral, and spiritual need. We pray that Thou wilt so guide Richard Nixon in handling the affairs of state that the whole world will marvel and glorify Thee.

O God, we consecrate Richard Milhous Nixon to the Presidency of these United States with the assurance that from this hour on, as he and his family move into the White House, that they will have the presence and the power of Thy Son who said, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

What we pray for President Nixon we pray for Vice President AGNEW and members of the Cabinet. May they be given a wisdom and a courage that is beyond their own. Bless them as a team to lead America to the dawning of a new day with renewed trust in God that will lead to peace, justice, and prosperity.

We pray this humbly in the name of the Prince of Peace who shed His blood on the cross that men might have eternal life. Amen.

Mr. DIRKSEN. My fellow citizens, I present now the distinguished Chief Justice of the United States, the Honorable Earl Warren, who will administer the oath of office to the President-elect.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

The Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, administered to the President-elect, the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution, which he repeated, as follows:

I, Richard Milhous Nixon, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. So help me God.

(Four ruffles and flourishes, "Hail to the Chief" and 21-gun salute.)

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

President NIXON. Senator DIRKSEN, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community:

I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries.

This can be such a moment.

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized.

The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace. [Applause.]

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years—the beginning of the Third Millennium.

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

This is our summons to greatness.

I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.

We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth, I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it.

Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a nation ravaged by depression

and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the nation's troubles:

They concern, thank God, only material things.

Our crisis today is the reverse.

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

To find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.

Greatness comes in simple trappings.

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words: from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices. [Applause.]

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways—to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart—to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those left behind, we will help to catch up.

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before—not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new.

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history.

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life—in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.

Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything. [Applause.]

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and exciting as the times we live in.

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one Nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law; to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man. [Applause.]

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communication will be open.

We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy. [Applause.]

Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition—not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together—not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be. [Applause.]

Over the past twenty years, since I

first came to this Capitol as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world.

I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the great hatreds, the fears that divide the world.

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it—that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world.

I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States and to that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations.

Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike. [Applause.]

The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings," with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this Earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of Earth—and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write:

To see the Earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the Earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know now they are truly brothers.

In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible: telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness—and, "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence

in the will of God and the promise of man. [Applause.]

Mr. DIRKSEN. May I respectfully suggest to our guests on the platform that when the ceremonies are concluded they remain at their chairs until our honored guests have left the platform.

Now we shall be favored by the U.S. Marine Corps Band and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir with "The Star-Spangled Banner."

(The Mormon Tabernacle Choir sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," accompanied by the U.S. Marine Corps Band.)

Mr. DIRKSEN. The benediction will be offered by the Most Reverend Terence J. Cooke, Archbishop of New York.

Archbishop COOKE. O heavenly Father, we thank You on this historic day for all the blessings that You have bestowed upon our country from its very beginning up to the present moment. In Your fatherly care, You have endowed America not only with abundant physical resources but more especially with the spiritual resources of honorable and dedicated public servants who have pursued the noble goal of "liberty and justice for all."

We thank You, O Father in heaven, for the generous spirit in our society that makes possible a peaceful and orderly change of administration. Aware as we are of the challenges that face us and the problems that could divide us, we pray that under Your guidance we may remain a people united, a nation indivisible. We pray that You will ever foster in each of us the breadth of vision, the depth of conviction, and the oneness of purpose which have been the greatest glories of our Nation's history. May we now use this blessed heritage to assure peace, equality, and dignity for every person in our beloved land.

We are aware, O heavenly Father, that our Nation bears a special responsibility of leadership among nations for the future peace of all mankind. Enlighten us to discover Your will for our world today, and strengthen us to be courageous in fulfilling it. May we find our true destiny and our lasting happiness in the loving service of our brother everywhere—in being fellow man to every man.

O merciful Father, bless the devoted men who have led our Nation in the years past and those who will guide it in the years to come. Help them, we humbly pray, to bear the great burdens of their office; be to them a consolation and inspiration. And may each of us daily raise our minds and hearts to You, imploring Your blessing upon our President, his Vice President, his family, and all who will assist him in the work of his great office.

Father of mankind, may President Richard M. Nixon have the wholehearted support of all his fellow Americans in his efforts to serve You, our country and our world. Amen.

At 12 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m. the President and Vice President of the United States, escorted by the Joint Congressional Committee on Arrangements, retired from the platform, followed by the Senate and House of Representatives the Chief Justice of the United States,

the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the other distinguished guests who had been invited to witness the ceremony.

MEETING OF THE SENATE AFTER THE RECESS

At 3 p.m. the Senate reassembled, when called to order by the President pro tempore.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Ratchford, one of his Secretaries, as follows:

William P. Rogers, of Maryland, to be Secretary of State.

David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Defense.

John N. Mitchell, of New York, to be Attorney General.

Winton M. Blount, of Alabama, to be Postmaster General.

Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior.

Clifford M. Hardin, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Maurice H. Stans, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

George P. Shultz, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Labor.

Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

George W. Romney, of Michigan, to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of Transportation.

Charles W. Yost, of New York, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is the intention of the leadership to ask for a live quorum and, after the quorum has been ascertained, to seek unanimous consent to proceed to the confirmation proceedings of those members of the President's Cabinet whose names have been reported without objection by the respective committees. That is the intention of the leadership.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 11 Ex.]

Alken	Goldwater	Mundt
Allen	Goodell	Murphy
Allott	Gore	Muskie
Anderson	Gravel	Nelson
Baker	Griffin	Packwood
Bayh	Gurney	Pastore
Bellmon	Hansen	Pearson
Bennett	Harris	Pell
Bible	Hart	Percy
Boggs	Hartke	Prouty
Brooke	Hatfield	Proxmire
Burdick	Holland	Randolph
Byrd, Va.	Hollings	Ribicoff
Byrd, W. Va.	Hruska	Russell
Cannon	Hughes	Saxbe
Case	Inouye	Schweiker
Church	Jackson	Scott
Cook	Javits	Smith
Cooper	Jordan, N.C.	Sparkman
Cotton	Jordan, Idaho	Spong
Cranston	Kennedy	Stennis
Dirksen	Long	Stevens
Dodd	Mansfield	Symington
Dole	Mathias	Talmadge
Dominick	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eagleton	McClellan	Tower
Eastland	McGee	Tydings
Ellender	McGovern	Williams, Del.
Ervin	McIntyre	Yarborough
Fannin	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Fong	Montoya	Young, Ohio
Fulbright	Moss	

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) are necessarily absent.

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS) is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is present.

CABINET NOMINATIONS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate a message from the President on the Cabinet nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

William P. Rogers, of Maryland, to be Secretary of State.

David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Defense.

John N. Mitchell, of New York, to be Attorney General.

Winton M. Blount, of Alabama, to be Postmaster General.

Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior.

Clifford M. Hardin, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Maurice H. Stans, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

George P. Shultz, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Labor.

Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

George W. Romney, of Michigan, to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of Transportation.

Charles W. Yost, of New York, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

RICHARD NIXON.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of nominations

individually in the order in which they appear in the President's message, reserving the right of any Senator to object to the consideration of any nomination, as the name is read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will read the first nomination.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William P. Rogers, of Maryland, to be Secretary of State.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the home of William Rogers, the Secretary of State, is in Maryland, but as a lawyer he is closely identified with New York, where he was born and where he has practiced law for many years. I wish to congratulate the new Secretary of State and the Nation on his confirmation. He is a seasoned and able lawyer—one of New York's most eminent—with broad experience in domestic and foreign affairs and a cool mind. He is an able administrator. He knows how to learn and handle a brief; and to this highest Cabinet office he brings objectivity and strong intellectual resources. I believe he will make a really distinguished Secretary of State.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, during the deliberations of the Committee on Finance, I raised certain questions concerning the nomination of Mr. David M. Kennedy to serve as Secretary of the Treasury. I wish to state the basis of my concern.

In approving nominees for Cabinet appointments, the Senate has traditionally sought to remove, to the extent it is possible, the possibility or the appearance of a conflict between the public interest and the private interests of the nominee. Generally, the Senate has gone beyond the strict requirements of the conflict of interests statutes. Essentially, the Senate has required the nominee to so arrange his personal financial affairs as to eliminate, so far as it can be done, the prospect that the nominee's financial position might be enhanced as a result of any decision he might be called upon to make in the high office he is to assume.

Such a policy has not been based on lack of confidence in the personal integrity of the individuals whose names have been submitted. Indeed, I have sought to make clear, and I now repeat, that in raising questions about Mr. Kennedy's nomination, I did not intend in any way whatever to reflect adversely upon his personal integrity. I believe him to be an estimable and able gentleman and I did not doubt his intention to discharge the duties of his office with regard for the public interest.

But this is not the basic question. The efficacy of our form of government rests upon public confidence in those chosen to administer the law and to make policy.

Thus, the suspicion of the existence of evil may undermine the Government even though evil does not in fact exist. Confidence in the decisions of Government officials is enhanced when these officials are in a position to act—in their own minds as well as in the minds of the public—free of any suspicion that they are influenced in any way whatever by the impact of their action upon their personal financial position.

This has always been a troublesome problem. As Government has become more complex and its impact upon the economy more direct, it becomes increasingly difficult of solution. We seek men of experience and accomplishment to manage the affairs of Government. The problem is to make it possible for them to serve free of actual or potential conflict of interest without unduly harsh financial strictures.

In the past, the Senate has generally met this problem by requiring nominees to divest themselves completely of stock or other ownership interest in any company doing business with the Government, or which would be directly affected by the Government policies which the nominee would make or participate in making. There may have been some exceptions or modifications, but this has been, I believe, the general practice. It has been argued that this rule has resulted, in some cases, in an unduly harsh financial sacrifice, as a condition of public service and that if it is continued, it would make it difficult to attract top talent for positions of responsibility.

I will not here undertake to discuss the pros and cons of such an assertion other than to observe that, in my opinion, the number of instances in which there has been a declination to serve in the Cabinet for such a reason appears insufficient to establish the validity of the argument.

It seems to me, however, that in an effort to cope with—or, rather, to avoid—this problem, the Senate is about to acquiesce in the use of arrangements which do not meet the problem and which pose potential danger to the maintenance of public confidence in the integrity of governmental processes. I refer to the so-called blind trust device.

As a member of the Committee on Finance I have had an opportunity and the responsibility of examining the proposal of Mr. Kennedy to meet this problem. Mr. Kennedy is to assume the duties of Secretary of the Treasury, a post which is most influential of any Cabinet post in determining the Government's economic policy generally and in which he will have the responsibility of making decisions and policy with far-reaching effect upon the Nation's financial institutions.

In large measure the problem arose because Mr. Kennedy is the owner of a substantial block of stock in the Continental Illinois National Bank of which he was chairman of the board. Moreover, he held an option to purchase an additional substantial block of Continental stock at a fixed price.

Mr. Kennedy proposed to transfer his currently owned stock to a trust, of which Continental would be the trustee. He proposed, later on, to transfer additional bank stock to the trust, provided

he exercised his option and after he had held such stock for such time as to make any gains realized eligible for capital gains tax treatment. Income from the trust was to be paid over to Mr. Kennedy periodically and it was to be terminated when he ceased to be Secretary of the Treasury.

For reasons which I stated in a letter to the chairman of the committee and which I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last Wednesday, I felt that this arrangement fell far short of severing Mr. Kennedy's association with Continental and that it did not effectively separate him from the incidents of ownership of bank stock or insulate him from a potential conflict of interest with respect to this stock.

After discussions within the committee, in which Mr. Kennedy participated, several significant changes in the trust arrangement were agreed upon, as follows:

First. The nominee agreed to designate an "independent" trustee, individuals or an institution other than Continental Illinois National Bank.

Second. It was agreed that the trustee would be specifically directed to diversify the portfolio of the trust, acting with prudence but without knowledge of the settlor, to the point that any remaining bank stock, if any, would not constitute, in terms of value, a majority of the corpus of the trust.

Third. It was agreed that Mr. Kennedy would either exercise or relinquish his option to purchase additional Continental stock prior to taking the oath of office, with any stock so purchased to be transferred to the trust not later than 6 months and 1 day from date of purchase, unless sooner otherwise divested, thereafter to be subject to the terms of the trust including the provisions of diversification.

The revised arrangement is, in my opinion, much better than the original proposal from the standpoint of providing safeguards against potential conflict of interest. Prior exercise of any stock option will eliminate the Secretary of the Treasury's direct speculative interest in the market price of Continental stock while he is in office. The provision for diversification will sharply reduce, if not ultimately remove, the Secretary's indirect interest in the profits of the bank. And the concept of a "blind" trust has a much better connotation with someone other than Continental serving as trustee.

With the changes I have enumerated, together with others, I supported Mr. Kennedy's confirmation in the committee, and I support it on the floor of the Senate.

But, Mr. President, I am persuaded that the revised arrangement, though perhaps the best that could be achieved under the circumstances prevailing, does not constitute a fully satisfactory solution of the problem with which the Senate and the Nation are confronted. The Senate, through the appropriate legislative committees, ought to face up to this problem and initiate the enactment into law of proper guidelines with respect to safeguards against conflict of interest in the confirmation of presidential nominees.

The problem is particularly acute when a new President representing a political party other than that of the outgoing administration takes office. The time available for consideration is inadequate and the circumstances which prevail are not conducive to thorough examination and scrutiny.

In the first place, there is the natural desire on the part of the Senate to cooperate with a new President by endorsing his selection. After all, the President himself has just been selected by the people.

When the Senate convenes in January, only about 2 weeks remain before the new administration takes office. After the Senate organizes itself and appoints committees very little time is left if members of the Cabinet are to be confirmed immediately or shortly after the inauguration of the President.

The problem may be even more difficult if, as is the case this year, the majority political party in the Senate is not the same as that of the incoming President. Senators of the majority party may be reluctant to raise questions lest their action be regarded as crass partisanship.

In the absence of legislative guidelines or standardized policies, each committee of the Senate must develop its own, subject to Senate approval. As I stated earlier, I am concerned by the apparent tendency to rely on trusts instead of outright divestiture which has heretofore been required in most cases. From what I have been able to learn the terms of the trusts to be approved for the Nixon Cabinet vary substantially. I have not had an opportunity to study all of them and it is difficult to make generalized observations about their effectiveness for the purposes they are supposed to serve. In my opinion, unless such trust arrangements effectively insulate the nominee from his business assets they create merely the appearance rather than the substance of adequate safeguards. The Congress should examine and deal with this problem substantively before another administration takes office.

I have examined current law dealing with specific prohibitions applicable to the Secretary of the Treasury. While in office a Secretary cannot "directly or indirectly be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce." He cannot own a "sea vessel" or purchase any public land, or buy or sell Government securities. But there is no legal ban on owning a bank. In order to start the process of legislative consideration, I am preparing for introduction a bill, for prospective application, prohibiting ownership of a bank, or stock therein, by the Secretary of the Treasury, who makes decisions and formulates policies affecting our financial institutions. I hope this will generate a realistic examination of the entire problem.

Mr. President, we must find a better way to deal with these matters so vital to the maintenance of public confidence in Government. We cannot afford to continue on an ad hoc basis without a standard policy to guide us.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance was unanimous in its decision to recommend that the Senate

confirm the nomination of David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Department of Treasury.

He is admirably qualified to serve in the high office to which he has been nominated.

Mr. Kennedy's success as a banker is well known. His long years of employment by the Federal Reserve Board and his later work as manager of the public debt in the Treasury Department attest to the knowledge of public finance he brings to his new office as Secretary of the Treasury. His role as Chairman of President Johnson's Commission on Budget Concepts reflects a willingness to labor in the public interest. It is a mark of rare achievement that virtually every recommendation of that Commission was adopted by President Johnson and incorporated into the budget he submitted to Congress in 1968 and the budget he submitted just last week.

Mr. Kennedy will assume his new post at a time when interest rates are at their highest point since the Civil War. This, together with continued deficits in our international balance of payments—and an unwanted reversal of our favorable balance of trade—mirror the challenge that faces him as he becomes the principal financial officer of our Government.

Mr. Kennedy submitted confidential data with respect to his personal finances to the Committee on Finance. This material was carefully studied by the committee in executive session and members of the committee were given full opportunity to discuss any question they had with the nominee. As a result of this study and discussion the designee for the post of Secretary of the Treasury advised the Committee on Finance that certain changes would be made in the trust he would create to administer his estate during his term of office. These changes were calculated to lessen the possibility of a potential conflict of interest arising from the nominee's ownership of a considerable number of shares of the common stock of the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago. While the conflicts-of-interest statutes are silent on the point, members of the committee felt that the Treasury Department played such a key role in overseeing the day-to-day operations of the commercial banks—and indeed of our whole financial system—that it would be incompatible for a person—no matter how high his morals—to serve as Secretary of the Treasury and at the same time hold substantial equity interest in a banking corporation.

To his everlasting credit the Secretary-designee understood this proper concern and agreed to modify his trust instrument to direct that the trustee, over a reasonable time, balance his investment portfolio by disposing of bank stock and substituting securities of corporations engaged in other activities. He also agreed to allay fears that his ties with Continental Illinois were not fully severed; he would do this by naming someone other than the Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co., as his trustee during the period he serves as Secretary of the Treasury.

Finally, Mr. Kennedy advised the committee that he would end any ques-

tion of speculation by indicating before he assumes the office of Secretary exactly what his intentions are with respect to the stock options he was granted as an employee of Continental Illinois.

The committee was satisfied that these commitments would bar any legitimate conflict-of-interest question from being raised against the holder of the office of Secretary of the Treasury. The cooperative spirit with which these sensitive matters were discussed and settled earned Mr. Kennedy the unanimous approval of the Committee on Finance. Hopefully it foretells of 4 years of amicable relations between the committee and this Cabinet officer.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Defense.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John N. Mitchell, of New York, to be Attorney General.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as a Senator from New York, I had the honor to introduce the Attorney General, John Mitchell, to the Judiciary Committee, and to testify there as to his distinction at the bar, his objectivity, and the lawyer-like approach which I feel he will take to the major issues of our times. His close relation to the President is most auspicious as it gives the President the necessary complete confidence in "his lawyer." I feel he will make a splendid Attorney General for the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Winton M. Blount, of Alabama, to be Postmaster General.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nomination be sent to the Executive Calendar without referral to the committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire whether this would mean that this matter could be considered tomorrow or at some later date. Can the Senator advise us?

Mr. KENNEDY. It is my understanding that it can be called up tomorrow and it is the present intention of the leadership to do so.

Mr. SCOTT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I hope I shall not object, it has been very difficult to hear the conversation between the acting majority leader and the acting minority leader. If I may, I would like to have an understanding. What is the reason for the withholding of the confirmation of this nomination?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Any Senator can object to the immediate consideration and confirmation of any nomination.

Mr. MURPHY. I understand, but it is my understanding that the acting majority leader had said earlier that all nominations would be presented, and I was wondering if there has been a change since that statement was made.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No. The acting majority leader also reserved the right, which is inherent in the Constitution to each Member of the Senate, to object to the immediate consideration of any of the nominations. The acting majority leader responded to the inquiry of the acting minority leader that it was the intention of the leadership to take up this nomination tomorrow at the earliest possible hour.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Presiding Officer very much.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the acting majority leader yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. I apologize to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I merely rise to make a comment on the unanimous consent requested by the acting majority leader. I approve of his action wholeheartedly.

Many of us, of course, are quite disturbed about some of the news reporting in respect to this man's financial background. I am not here to criticize at this time, but I understand the hearings have not been printed. I think they should be printed.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will be in order. It is rather unusual, but the Chair will ask the Senator from Rhode Island if he would raise his voice.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, we heard a speech today in which we were told to keep it "cool," to keep it in a whisper "so you can hear the words and not hear the noise." [Laughter.]

The Senator from Rhode Island from now on is going to keep it very cool. I repeat: I have nothing against Mr. Hickel. I do not know the man or his background, but there has been certain news reporting that I think should be explored. I think we should have an opportunity to read the record and I think we should give every benefit of a doubt to the appointing authority. I have always felt that. But I think we should look into it to be sure the consumer's interest is protected.

I applaud the Senator from Massa-

chusetts for asking that the nomination be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination will be placed on the calendar. The clerk will read the next nomination.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Clifford M. Hardin, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HARDIN MAKES GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO NEBRASKA

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I take special pleasure today in the action of the Senate in confirming President Nixon's nomination of Dr. Clifford M. Hardin, the former chancellor of the University of Nebraska, as Secretary of Agriculture.

Dr. Hardin is a man of whom all Nebraskans are proud, not only for the confidence placed in him by our new President, but for his great and dedicated service to the State we both call home.

It was my privilege, Mr. President, to present Secretary Hardin to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry last week when he appeared before it for his confirmation hearing. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of my remarks on that occasion.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR ROMAN L. HRUSKA BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, JANUARY 16, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to introduce to the distinguished members of this Committee, Dr. Clifford M. Hardin, the man President-elect Nixon has chosen to serve in his Cabinet as the Secretary of Agriculture.

In situations such as this the expectation sometimes seems to prevail that we should rush to the statistics and report in crisp, businesslike fashion that the nominee was born on such and such a date, at such and such a place, and that ever since, year by year and position by position, he has continued to demonstrate an unusual effectiveness and to reflect the finest attributes of his profession.

I could make a beginning like that for Dr. Hardin. I have read from various statistical records, as no doubt some of you have, that he was born October 9, 1915, at Knightstown, Indiana; that he grew up on a farm near there; that he went to Purdue University on a 4-H scholarship and emerged with a Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics; that he has served at the University of Wisconsin as a teacher; that he has been director of the extensive agricultural experiment station program and Dean of Agriculture at Michigan State; that he has been Chancellor of the University of Nebraska for 14 years; that he has fulfilled a number of impressive assignments with educational organizations, with banks and businesses, and with foundations; and that he and Mrs. Hardin are the parents of three daughters and two sons.

But I think you will agree with me that such a recitation gives a rather poor picture of a man. It is somewhat like those mechanical sketches that teletype or data processing machine operators sometimes produce on a dull day: you can recognize who it is supposed to be, but there is no warmth, no

depth, no color, and very little conviction in the expression.

I would much rather take just a few moments to tell you about Cliff Hardin and his contributions to the State of Nebraska, the state that we both call home, and where agriculture is the basic industry and where the great majority of the people are related to farm or ranch families.

Cliff Hardin has done as much for Nebraska as any man I know. I tell you this because I think what Cliff Hardin has done for Nebraska is especially relevant to the appraisal this Committee is about to make.

In Nebraska, Cliff Hardin's job has been as the head of our State University. He has led it through a most difficult period of growth and development into a new era in which it ranks as one of the major institutions of higher education in mid-America. His service at the University has been outstanding and his name is known and respected throughout public higher education.

And yet Cliff Hardin's greatest contribution to Nebraska extends beyond the limits of higher education, extensive as those are. His greatest contribution is found in a new spirit and a new drive that prevails in our home state. Cliff Hardin has given us a new respect for our state. He has increased its value in our eyes. He has stimulated our pride in our agricultural heritage and has convinced us that Nebraska can and should be a better place than it has ever been before.

Cliff Hardin has contributed much to a new unity that Nebraska is achieving, a unity that is drawing our rural and urban communities closer and closer together.

Clifford Hardin's early life on the farm, coupled with his academic work in agricultural economics and his career as an administrator has kept him in close touch with agriculture. In our home state, Cliff Hardin has been close to the soil. He has worked with farm people; he has visited farms and ranches; and many of his close friends at home are farm or ranch operators—large and small.

On the national scene, he has been effective as an agricultural leader. He served, as you know, as president of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities.

His membership on the board of the National Science Foundation attests to his national stature. His work with the Federal Reserve system provides him with a background in finance.

He has kept in constant touch with broad agricultural problems and he has developed a strong interest in agricultural problems. He was instrumental in having our own state University establish a brand new land-grant type University in eastern Turkey, near the Russian border, from the ground up. Through his efforts, the University of Nebraska is now engaged in a mammoth project in Colombia, South America, in upgrading the agriculture of that Latin America country.

Cliff Hardin has an intense interest in world food problems. He is the editor of a book on world hunger which has just been published.

Cliff Hardin is ideally suited to be Secretary of Agriculture. His broad background of experience as an administrator and student of the economics of agriculture should be of immense benefit to the country. Furthermore, he comes to the Department of Agriculture without any ties to any specific farm or agricultural group. He will, in my opinion, be able to plan the operations of the Department from a completely objective viewpoint for the benefit of American agriculture.

He is not a hand-wringer nor a doom-sayer. Often he has spoken of his faith in American agriculture and of his pride in its tremendous accomplishments. I have never heard him speak of the farmer as one apart

from the mainstream of American life or as a member of a vanishing race.

In Nebraska where our agricultural roots run strong and deep, we are proud of Cliff Hardin. We respect his knowledge. We recognize his great talent for leadership. We know him as a man who gets things done.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to present to you and the members of the Committee, Dr. Clifford M. Hardin.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, CLIFFORD M. HARDIN, CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, DESIGNEE

Clifford M. Hardin, 53, chancellor of the University of Nebraska since 1954, has been designated by President-Elect Richard Nixon as secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Hardin has been chancellor since 1954, the 12th man to hold the office since the founding of the University in 1869.

He came to the University of Nebraska from Michigan State University, where he was dean of the School of Agriculture and for four years served as director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and its research programs.

Under Hardin's leadership the University of Nebraska has experienced its greatest growth. Thirty-thousand students enrolled in 1968, nearly four times the 1954 enrollment.

The University of Omaha became a part of the University of Nebraska in 1968 and has an enrollment of nearly 11,000 students.

In addition to significant expansion of the University's physical plants, Hardin's administration has established a continuing education program and educational television.

A cooperative aid program to higher education in Turkey led to the establishment of a new Ataturk University. Hardin's administration also has provided technical assistance for agriculture in Colombia and a Latin American and International Studies Program has been inaugurated.

Hardin was president of the Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges in 1960 and in 1961 was chairman of the association's executive committee.

He is a member of the National Science Board, a former director of the American Council on Education and a past chairman of the Omaha branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

Hardin is a member of the executive committee of the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics, a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, a trustee of Bankers Life Insurance Co. of Nebraska, former chairman of the Nebraska Council on Economic Education and a director of Behlen Manufacturing Co. of Columbus, Neb.

He was born Oct. 9, 1915, in Knightstown, Ind., the son of James A. and Mabel Macy Hardin.

Hardin was graduated from Purdue University in 1937, financing part of his education with a 4-H Club scholarship. He received a master's degree from Purdue in 1939 and a Ph. D. in 1941.

Hardin taught agricultural economics at the University of Wisconsin 1941-44. He was chairman of the agricultural economics department at Michigan State University before becoming dean.

He is a member of Sigma Xi, national honorary science scholastic society and was awarded honorary degrees by National University of Columbia, Purdue and Creighton University.

Hardin is married to the former Martha Love Wood. The couple have five children.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I would like to join my colleague from Nebraska in placing in the Record the remarks I made about Dr. Hardin at the hearing conducted by the committee on Dr. Hardin's appointment.

We are singly and collectively proud of the job Dr. Hardin did as chancellor of the University of Nebraska, and we are equally confident that he will do an outstanding job for the Nation as Secretary of Agriculture.

In that spirit, I respectfully submit the following remarks which I made before the committee:

Mr. Chairman, my distinguished Senate colleague, Senator Hruska, has made a statement concerning the Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, who has been chosen by President-Elect Nixon to serve as Secretary of Agriculture. I endorse all the fine things that Senator Hruska has said.

It is my belief that Dr. Hardin will be a good Secretary of Agriculture. He is eminently qualified. It was because of Dr. Hardin's high standing as a professor of agricultural economics that he was later made dean of one of the nation's great colleges of agriculture. It was because of his brilliant achievements as an agricultural college dean that he was chosen to be Chancellor of the University of Nebraska.

I believe that Dr. Hardin will serve the farmers and all of rural America in an excellent manner. It need not be argued that the economic plight of rural America must have attention. I believe Dr. Hardin will bring the basic understanding and the leadership to the Department of Agriculture that will cause it to truly serve the people who produce our country's food and all of rural America.

It is my belief that Dr. Hardin will avail himself of the suggestions of Congressmen and Senators who have spent years wrestling with farm problems. It is my belief that he will likewise gather the most usable ideas from farmers and farm families, from our farm organizations, and other rural leaders.

I enthusiastically recommend his confirmation.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Maurice H. Stans, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, for many years, I have had the pleasure of a close relationship with Mr. Stans. He is eminently qualified to serve as Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Stans has been an outstanding public servant. He served with great distinction as Director of the Bureau of the Budget under President Eisenhower from March 1958 to January 1961. Before moving to the Bureau of the Budget in 1957, he was Deputy Postmaster General for 2 years. In that position, he took a major part in planning and directing the reorganization of the postal service and modernizing the Post Office Department's management structure and operating practices.

Mr. Stans has an equally impressive record as a leader of the business community. In recent years, he has been president of the major investment banking firm of Glore Forgan, Wm. R. Staats, Inc. He has also been vice chairman and director of the United California Bank and president of Western Bancorporation, Los Angeles.

This unusual background—both in Government and in business—will give him the experience and expertise to deal with the highly complicated and sensitive issues upon which a Secretary of Commerce will be called upon to decide. And it will give him the full confidence of the

business community, with which the Secretary will be dealing every day.

In the hearings before the Commerce Committee, Mr. Stans was questioned in depth on a number of extremely important and controversial points of great concern to the members of the committee and to the Congress. His testimony was most impressive, and he has convinced the committee that he is eminently qualified to be Secretary of Commerce.

Of particular importance to me as a Senator from a large urbanized State, he has indicated to the members of the committee his determination to help increase the involvement of the business community in meeting the urgent needs of our central cities.

I am confident that Mr. Stans will work closely with the Senate Commerce Committee, the Senate as a whole, and all the Members of Congress in leading the Department of Commerce to provide the best possible service for our Nation.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, Maurice Stans, the new Secretary of Commerce, is very well known as a leader in banking and finance in New York and throughout the country. His broad governmental experience includes the critically important office of Budget Director in the Eisenhower administration. He will bring to the office a distinguished professional point of view and a dedication to the public service in an area so critical to the success of the Nixon administration. For there must be heavy reliance upon the private enterprise system for major aid with massive national problems as the new administration sees its role ahead. The new Secretary will be able to attract this kind of private enterprise help and will be especially skilled in encouraging and using it effectively in Government.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The legislative clerk read the nomination of George P. Shultz, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Labor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance considered the nomination of Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Following public hearings the committee discussed the nomination with the Secretary-designee in executive session and agreed unanimously to recommend that the Senate confirm his nomination.

Mr. Finch is well known to most of us on the Hill by virtue of his work as an aide to former Vice President Nixon several years ago. Now serving as Lieutenant Governor of the State of California, Mr. Finch has acquired knowledge and ex-

perience that will serve him well in his new capacity as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As chairman of the job training and placement council in California, he has been exposed to the sort of problems he will encounter as one of the Federal officials responsible for the administration of the work incentive program enacted by Congress in 1967 in an effort to lessen reliance of many recipients on public welfare for their livelihood. His membership on the board of regents of the University of California and the stature he gained in that post have prepared him for the tasks that await him as overseer of the many Federal education programs under his Department's jurisdiction.

The challenges he must face in his early days in office concern the welfare programs, including the maddening rise in the Federal costs of medicaid; and the ever-climbing costs of health care which threaten the solvency of the medicare program as we know it today.

I wish him well in his efforts to cope with these, and other matters which will come before him in his new post.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The legislative clerk read the nomination of George W. Romney, of Michigan, to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of Transportation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified immediately of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNITED NATIONS

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles W. Yost, of New York, to be representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I wish to make a brief statement with respect to Mr. Yost. The Committee on Foreign Relations met a short time ago. We had already set a meeting in the morning at 10 o'clock to hear Mr. Yost and two people who requested to be heard.

We have confirmed Mr. Yost on several occasions in the past. I know of no objection to his nomination, but as a pro-

cedural matter the committee believes it would be more orderly and proper that this matter go over until tomorrow, and that we take action on it tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator desire to have the nomination committed to the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It is before the committee, as I understand the matter.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No, not at the present time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Then, I request that it go to the committee. We will act on it tomorrow and have a hearing tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the rules of the Senate the nomination is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, this is not as the result of any objection to Mr. Yost, but it is simply a procedural matter. In view of what happened before, I thought it more orderly to do it in this fashion.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, may I amend the chairman's statement to say that to the best of my knowledge there is no objection to the confirmation of Mr. Yost on the part of any member of the committee. We have people in this Nation, not represented on the committee, who would object to anybody being confirmed.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator is correct.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate at this time, I move, pursuant to the order of Friday, January 17, 1969, that the Senate stand in recess, in executive session, until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess in executive session, until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 21, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 18 (legislative day of January 10), 1969, under authority of the order of January 16, 1969:

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

KENTUCKY

Noah C. Adkins, Jackson, Ky., in place of J. T. Allen, retired.

VERMONT

Walter E. Comstock, Williamstown, Vt., in place of R. E. Curtiss, retired.

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 19 (legislative day of January 10), 1969, under authority of the order of January 16, 1969:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named persons for appointment to the offices indicated:

Foreign Service information officer of class 1, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

John E. McGowan, of New Jersey.

Foreign Service information officers of class 2, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Robert C. Benedict, of Maryland.

Lowell Bennett, of Arizona.

George N. Butler, of Florida.

Miss Mergot E. Cutter, of New Jersey.

Morton Clatzer, of California.

William L. Grenoble, of Virginia.

Russell L. Harris, of Arkansas.

Wilford J. Kramer, of Illinois.

Robert I. Miller, of New York.

Seymour I. Nadler, of the District of Columbia.

Jerome F. Novick, of Pennsylvania.

E. Lewis Revey, of Florida.

Foreign Service information officers of class 3, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Stanley B. Alpern, of New York.

Michael Barjansky, of the District of Columbia.

Donald E. Boyd, of Missouri.

David M. Burns, of Kansas.

Howard W. Calkins, of West Virginia.

James Carrigan, of California.

Philip W. Carroll, of Maryland.

James L. Culpepper, of Washington.

H. Rowland Dougherty, of Maryland.

John L. Hamilton, of Illinois.

Abraham N. Hopman, of the District of Columbia.

Ivan Izenberg, of New Jersey.

Max W. Kraus, of Texas.

John B. Lanum, of California.

Donald W. Mulligan, of Maryland.

Thomas J. Mulvehill, of New Jersey.

Melvin C. Niswander, of Maryland.

William G. Parr, of Nebraska.

Leon Picon, of Maryland.

Miss Bertha C. Potts, of California.

Barrett M. Reed, of Rhode Island.

Philip A. Turner, of Virginia.

Floyd A. Wade, Jr., of Virginia.

Foreign Service information officers of class 4, consular officers, and Secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Leonard J. Baldyga, of Illinois.

Albert Ball, of California.

Miss Helen E. Beko, of Iowa.

Donald G. Besom, Jr., of Nebraska.

Charles E. Courtney, of California.

Sherwin A. Crowne, of Pennsylvania.

Duane C. Davidson, of Colorado.

Charles R. Dickerman, of Michigan.

Geoffrey Groff-Smith, of Michigan.

John C. Hawley, of Connecticut.

Roy E. Helnecke, of Pennsylvania.

Richard M. Hughes, of Ohio.

W. Allan Jackson, of California.

Miss Elizabeth Ketcham, of Missouri.

Leslie M. Lisle, of West Virginia.

Frederic S. Mabbatt III, of California.

Robert C. McLaughlin, of Massachusetts.

Dale A. Morrison, of Illinois.

Warren J. Obluck, of the District of Columbia.

Collin E. Ostrander, of Virginia.

Alvin Perlman, of New York.

Donald H. Rochlen, of California.

Edwin N. Roman, of California.

Herman Stein, of California.

William B. Stubbs III, of Georgia.

Charles M. Woolfolk, Jr., of Alabama.

Foreign Service information officers of class 5, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Paul P. Blackburn, of the District of Columbia.

Merton L. Bland, of California.

John L. Bright, of Ohio.

Miss Helen H. Bodurtha, of Ohio.

William A. Buhr, of California.
 George Deligianis, of New York.
 George A. T. Donely, of New Jersey.
 Lawrence D. Estes, of California.
 Charles T. Foo, of Florida.
 Donald A. Foresta, of New York.
 Jacob P. Gillespie, of Connecticut.
 Robert D. Jones, of New York.
 Joseph L. Marek, Jr., of Texas.
 Marcellus P. Murphy, of Florida.
 Charles C. Ransom, of New York.
 Frank W. Scotton, of Hawaii.
 Miss Barbara M. Shelby, of New York.
 Foreign Service information officer of class 6, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:
 Miss Jean Elizabeth Mammen, of New York.

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ILLINOIS

Robert W. Buhrke, Glenview, Ill., in place of C. J. Glnaine, retired.

IOWA

Howard L. Snook, Newton, Iowa, in place of Dick Steenhoek, retired.

MARYLAND

Thomas M. Eichelberger, Frederick, Md., in place of J. A. Grove, retired.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate January 19 (legislative day of January 10), 1969, under authority of

the order of the Senate of January 16, 1969:

POSTMASTER

The nomination sent to the Senate on January 13, 1969, of R. Todd O'Flynn to be postmaster at Philpot, in the State of Kentucky.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 20 (legislative day of January 10), 1969:

CABINET MEMBERS

William P. Rogers, of Maryland, to be Secretary of State.

David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Defense.

John N. Mitchell, of New York, to be Attorney General.

Winton M. Blount, of Alabama, to be Postmaster General.

Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior.

Clifford M. Hardin, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Maurice H. Stans, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

George P. Shultz, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Labor.

Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

George W. Romney, of Michigan, to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of Transportation.

UNITED NATIONS

Charles W. Yost, of New York, to be the representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 20 (legislative day of January 10), 1969:

CABINET MEMBERS

William P. Rogers, of Maryland, to be Secretary of State.

David M. Kennedy, of Illinois, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Defense.

John N. Mitchell, of New York, to be Attorney General.

Winton M. Blount, of Alabama, to be Postmaster General.

Clifford M. Hardin, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Maurice H. Stans, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

George P. Shultz, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Labor.

Robert H. Finch, of California, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

George W. Romney, of Michigan, to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of Transportation.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, January 20, 1969

The House met at 10:30 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. CELLER.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

You shall keep all the commandments which I command you this day, that you may be strong.—Deuteronomy 11: 8.

Almighty and eternal God, we pray humbly and sincerely for our country, the land we love with all our hearts. We thank Thee for the men who founded our Republic and for those who through the years have kept the flame of freedom aglow in our world.

Now we invoke Thy blessing upon our President and Vice President as they take the oath of office and pledge their allegiance to this free land of their birth. Bless them with creative minds, courageous hearts and constructive hands as they endeavor to meet the challenge of these critical days.

Give us, the representatives of our people, patience, wisdom, and understanding during this time of transition. Make us great enough for this day, strong enough for this hour, and good enough for this moment.

Bless all our people and help us as a nation to accept the privileges and responsibilities of sound citizenship, walking in the way of Thy commandments and keeping our faith in Thee. So rule our hearts and so prosper our endeavors that law and order, justice and peace may here and everywhere prevail to the glory of Thy name and the good of our country. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, January 17, 1969 was read and approved.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair desires to announce that Members must display their official tickets in order to get a seat on the platform. There are no extra seats available, so former Members cannot join the procession.

The same holds true for children. They can neither go with the procession nor be seated on the platform.

The seats for Members of the House and Senate have no cover. Therefore, Members are urged to wear overcoats and take hats for protection against the cold weather.

The procession will be headed by the Sergeant at Arms bearing the mace. He will be followed by the Speaker pro tempore, then the chairmen of committees and other Members in order of seniority.

Following the Presidential oath of office proceeding on the east front, shuttle buses will be available on First Street SE., east of the Cannon House Office Building, between Independence Avenue and C Street SE., subsequent to the ceremonies on the east front, to take Members and their families to the parade reviewing stands at the White House. The buses will also be available to bring Members and families back to the Capitol after the parade.

And now, pursuant to House Resolution 141, the House will form in proces-

sion and go in a body to the east front to attend the swearing-in ceremonies for the President and Vice President of the United States.

Thereupon, at 10 o'clock and 35 minutes a.m., the Members of the House, preceded by the Sergeant at Arms and the Speaker pro tempore, proceeded to the east front of the Capitol.

ADJOURNMENT

At the conclusion of the inaugural ceremonies (at 12 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the House, without returning to its Chamber, pursuant to House Resolution 141, stood in adjournment until Thursday, January 23, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

342. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting the second annual report on the operation of the medicare program for fiscal year 1968, and recommendations for legislation to improve the medicare program, both pursuant to the provisions of section 1875 of the Social Security Act (H. Doc. No. 91-57); to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

343. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting the annual report of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation for 1968, pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Crop Insurance Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

344. A letter from the Secretary of Agricul-

ture, transmitting a report on the activities of the Rural Electrification Administration for fiscal year 1968; to the Committee on Agriculture.

345. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, as amended, and reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, to provide for payment by handler assessments of the administrative costs of the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

346. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide a supplemental source of credit to cooperatives serving rural people, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

347. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a report of the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain additional facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Army National Guard, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2233(a)(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

348. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a report on exemplary rehabilitation certificates, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89-690; to the Committee on Armed Services.

349. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 37, United States Code, to provide entitlement to round-trip transportation to the home port for a member of the naval service on permanent duty aboard a ship overhauling away from home port whose dependents are residing at the home port; to the Committee on Armed Services.

350. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation, to amend title 37, United States Code, to authorize a dislocation allowance under certain circumstances, certain reimbursements, transportation for dependents, and travel and transportation allowances under certain circumstances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

351. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize command of the U.S.S. *Constitution* (IX-21) by retired officers of the U.S. Navy; to the Committee on Armed Services.

352. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of industrial diamond crushing bort from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

353. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the disposal of castor oil from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

354. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for July-October 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 10(d) of the Small Business Act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

355. A letter from the Secretary, Housing and Urban Development, transmitting a report on the progress of the work undertaken in connection with section 109 of Public Law 90-448; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

356. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish an Urban Development Bank to assist in broadening the sources and decreasing the costs of capital funds for State and local governments,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

357. A letter from the Administrator, Small Business Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Small Business Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

358. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to adjust the salaries of certain District of Columbia judges, members of the District of Columbia Council, and U.S. magistrates; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

359. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation, to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to improve its benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

360. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting the seventh annual report on the administration of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act for the year 1968; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

361. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in the development of a large prototype desalting plant in Israel, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

362. A letter from the Director of the Peace Corps, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend further the Peace Corps Act (75 Stat. 612), as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

363. A letter from the general manager, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a report on the disposal of foreign excess property for the fiscal year 1968; to the Committee on Government Operations.

364. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report from the Office of Coal Research on coal research activities undertaken during calendar year 1968, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 86-599; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

365. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations for the saline water conservation program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

366. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska natives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

367. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

368. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the economic development of Indians, Indian tribes, and other Indian organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Insular and Insular Affairs.

369. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide that the unincorporated territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands shall each be represented in Congress by a Delegate to the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

370. A letter from the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior; transmitting a copy of a proposed amendment to the concession contract under which the S. G. Leoffer Co. will be authorized to continue to operate certain designated facilities for the public in areas administered by the National Capitol region, National Park Service, for 1 year from January 1, 1969, through December

31, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of 67 Stat. 271, as amended by 70 Stat. 543; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

371. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television or radio broadcasting facilities and the provisions relating to support of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

372. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend authority of the Secretary of the Interior under the act of July 19, 1940 (54 Stat. 773), to encourage through the National Park Service travel in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

373. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the annual report of the Department of Justice for fiscal year 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

374. A letter from the Chairman, American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act of July 4, 1966 (80 Stat. 259), as amended by the act of December 12, 1967 (81 Stat. 567); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

375. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend the provisions of the U.S. Fishing Fleet Improvement Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

376. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to adjust the salaries for the Vice President and certain officers of Congress; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

377. A letter from the head, congressional and public affairs, National Science Foundation, transmitting a revision of the first page of a draft of proposed legislation submitted January 17, 1969, in Executive Communication No. 332; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

378. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the amount deductible by Members of Congress for living expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

379. A letter from the Director, Selective Service System, transmitting the second semiannual report of the operations of the Selective Service during the period January 1, 1968, to June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 10(g) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967; to the Committee on Armed Services.

380. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the second annual report of the Federal costs of water pollution control, pursuant to the provisions of section 16(a) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1966, as amended; to the Committee on Public Works.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 4119. A bill to provide additional Federal assistance in connection with the construction, alteration, or improvement of air carrier and general-purpose airports, airport terminals, and related facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 4120. A bill to create a national com-

mission to study quality controls and manufacturing procedures of medical devices, surgical instruments, artificial organs and limbs, therapeutic instruments and devices, and other medical and hospital equipment; to determine the need for, and the extent of, Federal regulation of such medical devices; to recommend to the President and to the Congress methods for determining constructive minimum performance standards, and feasible methods for Federal regulation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin:

H.R. 4121. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

6. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the allocation of certain imported fuel oil to New England and the establishment of a foreign trade zone and subzone for the purpose of oil refining, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 4122. A bill for the relief of Herminia Dula; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 4123. A bill for the relief of Dr. Pedro Jara Obregon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 4124. A bill for the relief of Maria David; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 4125. A bill for the relief of Pasqualina Silvaroli (Linda) Fiore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 4126. A bill for the relief of Maria Librizzi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI (by request):

H.R. 4127. A bill for the relief of Victoria Georgina Morena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PENDING TREATY ON NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks the address I made before the West Point Society at Fort Myer, Va., on January 15, 1969.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The remarks are as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR GOLDWATER BEFORE WEST POINT SOCIETY, FORT MYER, VA.

Needless to say, I am very happy to be back in Washington and the United States Senate. I am also happy that I was put on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Of course, many changes have been made during my four years of absence and many more, as you all know, are about to be made in the near future. One of the alterations on the Washington scene of particular note to me like you and me is the absence of Robert McNamara from the Pentagon.

I have got to say that this absence does not make my heart grow fonder of Mr. McNamara and his policies. Frankly, I am delighted that he no longer has the right to dictate our Nation's defense policy. I only wish he could have taken with him the legacy which he left behind.

But perhaps I was too fast in assuming that Mr. McNamara has relinquished his voice in the affairs of this Nation having to do with defense. I noticed in the papers not long ago that he visited the Soviet Union and discussed with the leaders of that nation the question of the pending treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And that brings me to the subject of my talk here today. I am deeply concerned at the emotional, oversimplified arguments that are being advanced to bring about a speedy Senate ratification of this treaty. What bothers me is that not nearly enough attention is being given to the technical and practical weaknesses of this diplomatic device, to say nothing of its dangerous psychological implications.

Let me take you back for a moment to another treaty with the Soviet Union. That one, negotiated in 1963, was called the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It was promoted to an almost hysterical degree by those advocates of accommodation as a "great forward step" in the never ceasing struggle for world peace. In that instance, all technical and factual consideration were swept aside in a wave of optimism generated by one of the sharpest

public relations promotions in our history. I would remind you that I, along with most other members of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, voted against that treaty.

In opposing that earlier nuclear treaty, I was swayed by the testimony, a lot of it still secret, of scientists and military experts who believed sincerely that the Russians had an ulterior motive in accepting the treaty. It was pointed out that unlike the United States, the Russians had already conducted a series of high magnitude and high altitude nuclear tests and had gained valuable information about the mysterious problem called EMP (electro-magnetic pulse). By pushing through the test ban treaty, the Russians could make sure that the United States would not solve the problems of EMP in the near future. In fact, there are military experts today who insist that we will never discover how to solve this problem until the testing ban is abrogated.

Now we are being asked to adopt a nuclear non-proliferation treaty with the Soviet Union and other nations. The arguments are familiar. They are all lofty and noble. They say that the greatest way in the world to avoid a nuclear holocaust is to deter the proliferation of the most horrible weapons ever devised. I ask you who, on the surface, could oppose such an appeal? If we want to take this argument at its superficial face value, then the answer is—no one could oppose it.

But I'm sure I do not have to tell most of you here that this question, no more than the test ban treaty, does not lend itself to quick and easy answers.

To begin with, the treaty is meaningless because two present nuclear powers, France and Red China, will have nothing to do with it. In addition, many nations who presently are on the brink of developing nuclear weapons are likewise among the nonsignatories. These include nations such as India, West Germany, and Israel.

Consequently, we see that the most probable sources of nuclear proliferation in today's world are beyond the treaty's reach.

If there is a reason for ratification of this treaty, it has to be nothing but a token. In other words, if we are interested in trying to tell the world that the United States and the Soviet Union are engaging in meaningless gestures of accommodation, then there might be some excusable reason in the area of hope, humanitarianism or good will. This, of course, assumes that there are no technical disadvantages to the United States in the way the treaty is presently drawn. I believe that there are such deficiencies, and I will discuss them.

But my objection to the non-proliferation treaty at this time has to do more with the effect it might have on foreign affairs generally. Look at what has happened in the struggle between East and West since we

ratified the test ban treaty and presumably took a giant step toward resolving our differences. The Soviet Union has repeatedly demonstrated that, far from reducing or being interested in a reduction of world tensions, it has actively and aggressively promoted such tensions on a worldwide basis. Vietnam is a case in point. The Vietcong and Hanoi couldn't have kept up the pace at which they are killing American soldiers for six months without the supplies and support sent to them by our partner in the test ban treaty. The Middle East would not today be the tinder box threatening the peace of three continents if it were not for an aggressive policy of Soviet arming of the Arab nations. The Mediterranean would not today be bristling with Soviet naval power. Czechoslovakia would not have been invaded, nor would Rumania and West Germany be threatened.

No, I tell you there can be no case made in fact for the argument that the Soviet Union is mellowing and that we must further that softening process through the ratification of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. There is reason to believe that ratification of this treaty at this time would in effect place the U.S. stamp of approval on an aggressive and militant move made by Russia to stamp out human freedom. Members of the Senate I believe will have to ask themselves, if they accept a treaty with the Soviet Union in good conscience, whether they don't also ratify Soviet moves in other areas. Do we dignify Soviet policy, in effect, saying that they are honorable enough to sign a treaty with? Do we, in ratifying this treaty, announce to the world that we are ready to forget that the Soviet Union has a long, dishonorable history of broken treaties?

These are serious questions which bear directly on the security of this Nation and which the advocates of the non-proliferation treaty would have us skip over in the interest of a word they love to use called "detente."

They don't seem to understand that there can be no accommodation, there can be no true *detente*, so long as the Soviet Union continues to foment aggression and stir up war. A thousand non-proliferation treaties with the Soviet Union will not wipe out actions such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

I presume by this time you understand that I am opposed to Senate ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty at this time.

Now I want to go into some of the technical and practical aspects of this treaty.

A close examination of the possible effect leads to the conclusion that a definite possibility exists that if this treaty is ratified, some 100 non-nuclear nations may construe it as giving rise to a commitment of the United States to provide immediate military support in case of a nuclear attack or the threat of a nuclear attack against any such nation.

It will be remembered that President Johnson and Secretary McNamara declared in 1966 that nations not seeking nuclear weapons can be sure of our strong support against nuclear blackmail.

In addition, during 1968 the United States, the United Kingdom and Russia each issued similar declarations of intent to act immediately through the Security Council of the United Nations to assist any non-nuclear party to the treaty that becomes a victim of nuclear aggression or threat.

Another weakness of the treaty is that it would provide no safeguard which would go into effect simultaneously with the application of the treaty. The safeguards for verification of compliance would not be negotiated nor established until after the treaty enters into force and need not be concluded for two years thereafter.

The inspection phase of the treaty would be entrusted to the International Atomic Energy Agency which has no proven inspection skill. Even if adequate safeguards could be developed, the agency is limited under the treaty to declared nuclear facilities. There is no provision for searching out clandestine facilities. Nor does the treaty impose any penalty or sanction on any nation that violates the treaty.

Another thing the treaty would do would be to surrender our strategic options of placing strictly defensive nuclear devices in the control and custody of our allies. Under this option, our allies both in Europe and Asia conceivably would be able to secure their local defense without immediately triggering the intervention of the United States.

Interestingly enough, the Soviet Union violated the treaty by its invasion of Czechoslovakia while the document was awaiting action in the U.S. Senate. The preamble of the treaty declares that "states must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of political independence of any state."

One of the most exhaustive studies of this faulty treaty was prepared by Dr. Walter B. Wentz of Claremont Men's College. He raised this interesting point about article III of the treaty. This is the only article which deals with inspection and control and it applies, Mr. Wentz emphasizes, only to "fissionable" material. He points out that the day is not far off when nuclear explosions will be achieved by direct fusion without the preliminary trigger of fissionable uranium or plutonium.

These are the basic reasons why I plan to oppose this treaty if and when it is brought up for ratification in the U.S. Senate. I believe it contains absolutely no value in the field of deterring the spread of nuclear weapons. I believe it can only place this Nation in a false and uncomplimentary light throughout the world if it is adopted.

IN OUTER SPACE AS ON EARTH PRAYERS ARE NEEDED

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, several hundred of my constituents, 294 to be precise, in Texarkana, Tex., who are also members of the First Baptist Church in that city, a church which I have attended for over 50 years, have sent to me a petition stating as follows:

In this day of radical theology when God is declared dead, and many people live without a divine point of reference, it is reassuring

and inspiring to hear from three brave men, having gone faster and farther than man has ever gone into space, reading the Scriptures and reminding us that the God of today was also the God of the beginning. Our signatures affixed denote our appreciation and express our prayerful concern for every future space venture.

The very fine dedicated man of God, Dr. Lory Hildreth, pastor of the First Baptist Church, transmitted the petition to me with the following message, which I believe highly pertinent and significant:

Enclosed you will find a petition with several hundred names affixed. This is our way of expressing our commendation for the recent moon shot as well as for the conduct of the astronauts on the same. We were thrilled in their spiritual orientation of the same and we would urge you to discourage any attempt to interpret what they said as a violation of the principle of church and state.

We feel that our freedom under God entitles one to express his belief in God as well as giving the person who believes that there is no God the right to express himself accordingly.

We will be mailing you in the near future two sermons which we preached on the two Sundays following the astronaut's return to earth. This in no way is an attempt to force any kind of religious belief on you, but to register the spiritual inspiration which the fight and the conduct of the astronauts especially gave to each of us.

I would like to add at this time my own name, and that of Mrs. Patman, to this petition, because we, too, firmly believe that in this day of great technological advances, we must always return thanks to God and remember that the works of man are but the expression of His will.

DEAN RUSK—EXCELLENT SERVICE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the January 18, 1969, edition of the Washington Daily News:

DEAN RUSK'S 8 YEARS

If the job of President of the United States is the most demanding in the country, surely the job of secretary of state comes next.

For eight full years, the aim of Dean Rusk, as he often said, has been to help build "a decent world order" as set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter, a community of independent nations, each with its own system, but cooperating on common problems and solving conflicts peacefully, not violently.

The 1960s, however, have seen a continuation of a persistent crisis caused, as Mr. Rusk saw it, by the determination of certain nations to "impose a world of coercion upon those not already subjected to it."

The three chief crises of Mr. Rusk's years—Berlin, the Cuban missile confrontation and the Vietnam war—all pitted him against the forces of coercion, and so far as his role was concerned, he proved himself a man of high intelligence, prudence and persistence. On dozens of other, less bell-clanging issues—disarmament, economic development,

free trade, regional cooperation—Dean Rusk also put in long hours toiling to build that decent world order.

His critics complained Secretary Rusk was colorless or inflexible or unimaginative. But his own view was that fireworks and splashy rhetoric had no place in successful diplomacy. He once said the biggest victories for peace might never get into the newspapers; that was all right with him.

Along those lines, one of his accomplishments was to conduct a patient dialog with his Soviet counterparts. The Soviets came to learn where America's vital interests lie and thus were not to push too far. They also came to drop their tiresome ideological clichés and deal in a more straightforward, practical matter. The results show up in the U.S.-Soviet treaties banning atmospheric nuclear tests and proliferation of nuclear weapons, and in the greatest accomplishment of all: the absence of a nuclear war.

Considering Dean Rusk's integrity and good sense, our only complaint is that he did not speak up forcefully enough in the President's highest councils and nudge out some of the obviously faulty advice the President got. But modesty is another Rusk characteristic: He regarded himself as the President's servant.

Adding up these eight grueling years, however, it can be said that Dean Rusk, secretary of state, 1961-1969, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, served this nation with devotion and distinction.

THIS IS ANNUAL PRAYER WEEK

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the January 18, 1969, edition of the Washington Daily News:

THIS IS ANNUAL PRAYER WEEK

(By Louis Cassels)

Protestants and Catholics around the world will observe their annual week of prayer for Christian unity for one week, starting tomorrow.

This period of joint prayer is at once a testimonial to how far Christians have come down the road to reunion, and a reminder of how far they still have to go.

After 10 years of dramatic progress, during which Catholics and Protestants moved from a state of cold war to at least the threshold of brotherhood, the ecumenical movement seems to be slowing down.

This may be a necessary and constructive phase—a pause for consolidation of gains.

SYMPTOM

But it also could be a symptom of distraction.

Catholics are preoccupied with internal dissension over birth control and the exercise of authority in the church.

Protestants are embroiled in controversy among themselves over what role the church should play in trying to remedy the ills of the world thru direct political and social action.

Much of the energy and dedication formerly channeled into the ecumenical movement is now being diverted into these intramural disputes.

The ecumenical movement also is being hurt to some degree, perhaps a serious one, by the spirit of anti-institutionalism which is endemic among educated young people today.

Many of the younger clergy and laymen, who might be expected to display the greatest fervor for the ideal of unity, actually tend

to be disdainful of moves toward organizational union, which they regard as mere tinkering with institutional machinery.

MERGER PLAN

This attitude is causing particular concern to leaders of the Consultation on Church Union, the forum in which 10 major Protestant denominations are trying to agree on a merger.

After seven years of negotiations, COCU is approaching the day when it can offer to its constituent denominations a detailed plan for coming together in one great new church.

While the plan has been difficult to work out, the greater difficulty will be selling it to the 25 million members of the participating denominations.

Recognizing that middle-aged and elderly people naturally tend to shy away from any change in familiar ways, COCU leaders feel the only hope for putting the merger across lies in enlisting the enthusiastic support of the younger clergy and laity who are receptive to change.

Thus far, however, there is no indication that the proposed merger is generating much excitement among the young.

While indifferent toward the redrawing of institutional lines, many young people are intensely concerned with establishing warm human relationships with members of other denominations.

COMMON GOALS

They have found that Christians can love and respect each other, work together toward common goals, and attain a strong sense of community without wearing the same label.

A large number of them also are convinced that the urgent need right now is to renew the church, all branches of it, with each person working at the task of renewal in the particular corner in which he happens to find himself.

Reunion, they believe, can afford to wait on renewal, and will tend to follow it quite naturally.

The founding fathers of the ecumenical movement saw it the other way around. They looked upon unity as a source of new vitality.

What both views have in common is the institution that reunion and renewal go together. The church can't achieve one without the other.

SPACESHIP EARTH

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the technological triumph of Apollo 8 has confirmed the fact that our planet is truly "Spaceship Earth." Both Colonel Borman, in his graceful speech before the joint session of Congress, and President Nixon, in his inspired inaugural address, borrowed the words of Archibald MacLeish to describe this concept:

To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know now they are truly brothers.

But how long will the earth retain its "bright loveliness" if we continue our destruction of our physical and psychological resources? Speaking directly to that awesome challenge is Dr. Rene Dubos, professor at Rockefeller University and head of its Department of Environmental

Biomedicine. Not the least of the virtues of his article in the New York Times of January 6, 1969, is a quotation of that far-seeing American statesman, Adlai Stevenson:

We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship . . . preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft.

Mr. Speaker, technology has placed in the hands of man the opportunity to create either enduring "bright loveliness" or the darkest of tragedies. Few men are more eminently qualified than Dr. Dubos to describe the dangers facing our intellectual and environmental heritage and I am pleased to insert his eloquent and profound statement into the Record at this point:

IS THIS PROGRESS OR SELF-DESTRUCTION?

(By Rene Dubos)

In his last speech as ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson poignantly expressed our dependence on the conditions prevailing over the whole earth:

"We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship . . . preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give to our fragile craft."

The expression "Spaceship Earth" is no mere catch phrase. Not only do we live on the earth, we are completely dependent on the conditions of its crust, drawing breath from its shallow layer of air, using and reusing its limited supply of water and other essential resources.

It would be far too easy to show that mankind on its spaceship may be on a course of self-destruction because it behaves as if it were unaware of the social and physical constraints resulting from the limitations of the earth. This is a real possibility.

But it is a certainty that mankind shall experience a rapid degradation of the quality of life if present trends are allowed to continue. We may escape nuclear warfare, widespread poisoning and mass hunger. But unless we act drastically, and very soon, we shall not escape the progressive loss of humanness resulting from life in a closed environment which is every day more crowded, polluted, depleted and desecrated.

NO PLACE TO MOVE

This is not the first time, of course, that men have spoiled their surroundings, but in the past they could move to other parts of the earth and establish new settlements. Very soon, this kind of migration will be impossible: All habitable parts of the globe are now occupied and most of them are already spoiled. Nor is there any chance that we can escape to other worlds.

Despite the irresponsible assertions of a few scientists and the imaginings of science-fiction writers, we are bound to the earth by the exigencies of our biological nature. The range of conditions under which we can survive and function is so narrow that it exists only on the surface of the earth. We may establish stations in outer space or on the bottom of the oceans, but the few persons who will live in these outlandish places will have to remain linked to the earth's crust, as by an umbilical cord. We are wedded to this planet.

Since the birth rate now exceeds the death rate almost everywhere, world population is soaring. This situation is not peculiar to the underdeveloped parts of the world. Admittedly, the birth rate is beginning to fall in industrialized countries, but not fast enough to prevent their populations from continuing to increase.

In the United States, this increase is approximately 2,500,000 persons a year and a similar rate is likely to continue for at least a few decades. Just to accommodate this

added population, we would have to create a new large city, or 10 medium cities, every year.

IS OUR PLANET TOLERABLE?

Technologists may brag about nuclear energy, scientific agriculture and ready-made housing developments, but the overpowering fact is that we shall soon be running out of desirable places and essential resources. As Thoreau remarked, "What is the use of a house if you haven't got a tolerable planet to put it on?"

Furthermore, almost everywhere economic and social forces are driving people from the country to urban areas and this trend also is likely to continue. High population density inevitably brings about gross pollution of the environment, by man's own biological processes and particularly by technology. No one knows exactly the maximum size of the population that the earth can support. What is certain is that it cannot be many times greater than at present.

Environmental pollution used to be localized, but it now affects the whole earth.

Smog produced in urban and industrial areas is hovering over the countryside and beginning to spread over the oceans; cities will not benefit much longer from the cleansing effects of the winds for the simple reason that the wind itself is contaminated. Sewage and chemical effluents are spoiling rivers, lakes and coastlines; slowly, but surely, even the best-protected urban water supplies are being contaminated by countless chemical substances. Tin cans, plastic containers, discarded machinery, oil and other indegradable forms of garbage are overflowing from city dumps; they are seen everywhere.

Radioactive products and various forms of pesticides are beginning to accumulate in the soil and in water. They will progressively ruin cultivable land and even the oceans. Furthermore, their concentrations increase along certain food chains.

For example, radioactive products from the fallout of nuclear explosions in the United States were absorbed and concentrated by the lichens of the arctic. From the lichens, they reached reindeer which feed on these plants and eventually the Eskimos who eat the reindeer. Insecticides such as DDT accumulate in earth worms, and in ocean plankton, contaminating and killing the birds that feed on worms or on the plankton.

EFFECT ON BIRDSHELLS

A very recent study reveals catastrophic declines in several bird species, because the accumulation of insecticides thins, to the point of breakage, the shells of their eggs. As to insecticides and human beings, the concentration of DDT exceeds 12 parts per million in the fatty tissue of United States residents.

Excessive sensory stimuli, and especially mind-bewildering noise, are among other forms of environmental pollution which are now so ubiquitous as to be inescapable.

The complexities resulting from technological advances and crowding inevitably engender social regimentation, loss of privacy and other interferences with individual freedom.

Few persons can remain completely unaware of the dangers experienced by man in the technological world. But, on the whole, there is little sense of alarm about them.

We tend to ignore progressive changes until they reach catastrophic dimensions. For example, we no longer notice that the air over urban agglomerations is hardly ever luminous and fragrant. We have learned to tolerate air pollution and foul water, crowding, garbage, noise and confusion in the streets.

Similarly, we can learn to tolerate the sonic boom, invasion of privacy and even the loss of freedom. Adaptability is an asset for

survival, but, paradoxically, the greatest threat to the quality of human life is that the human race is so immensely adaptable that it can survive even under the most objectionable conditions.

One might have hoped that the miraculous achievements of science during the past few decades, and the promise of many more to come, would provide easy solutions for the problems now facing mankind. In fact, confidence in the creative and predictive power of science is now so great that several groups of scholars have recently published forecasts of the technological and medical advances that can be expected for the year 2000.

BREAKTHROUGHS FORESEEN

Naturally enough, they predict spectacular breakthroughs in the production of nuclear energy, the development of electronic gadgets, the chemical synthesis of materials better than natural ones, the discovery of drugs and surgical techniques that will delay death and change man's nature. From permanent lunar installations to rebot human slaves and to programed dreams, many are the scientific miracles that have been predicted and, indeed, can be anticipated for the 21st century.

Individual scientists would differ as to which of the possibilities will be converted into reality, but all would agree that scientific research can provide new, powerful techniques for manipulating external nature and man's nature.

Yet it is my opinion that, despite past achievements and promises for the near future, we do not truly live in an age of science. We have great expertise in the technological applications of science, but practically no knowledge, and even less wisdom, concerning the effects of these applications on man and on nature. In particular, we are grossly ignorant of the effects that modern technologies will have on the future of children who are exposed to them during their early development. We know only that some of these effects will be tragic.

ENVIRONMENT STUDY NEEDED

These remarks do not imply a defeatist or anti-intellectual attitude. They are meant rather to emphasize the need for directing scientific research to the study of the effects that the modern environment exerts on man and nature. The social and environmental problems that plague mankind will not be solved until we develop a new kind of science, focused on the fundamental needs of man and on the maintenance of a healthy, well-balanced environment.

Scientists must involve themselves widely in the investigation of the social consequences that will result from their professional activities. The man of flesh and bone will not be impressed by the fact that a few of his contemporaries can explore the moon, program their dreams, or use robots as slaves, if the planet Earth has become unfit for everyday life. He will not long continue to be interested in space acrobatics if he has to watch them with his feet deep in garbage and with smog in his eyes.

The present flurry of predictions concerning the scientific breakthroughs that can be anticipated for the year 2000 is a form of social escapism. Whatever their scientific interest may be, many of these breakthroughs will create new dangers for man and nature. Hardly any of them will help solve such problems as the raping of nature, environmental pollution, urban crowding, the feeling of alienation, racial and national conflicts and other threats to human life.

DEATH OF SHEEP RECALLED

A few months ago, many sheep died of a new kind of disease in valleys near the Army's Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah. Death was caused by minute amounts of a chemical substance that had been deposited by the wind on pastures over the mountain ranges while being tested as a biological

weapon inside the proving ground. The Army was publicly criticized for having used the new chemical substance before knowing how it moves through nature and determining all its biological effects.

The same criticism can be leveled against society as a whole. Since we make so little effort to investigate the effects of social and technological innovations on human life, we are practicing—not by intention but irresponsibly—a kind of biological warfare against nature, ourselves and especially against our descendants.

Mr. Speaker, I believe one idea expressed by Dr. Dubos needs amplification. He writes:

... we can learn to tolerate the sonic boom, invasion of privacy, and even the loss of freedom. Adaptability is an asset for survival, but, paradoxically, the greatest threat to the quality of human life is that the human race is so immensely adaptable that it can survive even under the most objectionable conditions.

This is certainly not a description of Dr. Dubos but if one were only a scientist concerned with man solely as an interesting species for dispassionate study, one could accept such a gloomy prospect with resignation. However, since man is an intensely political creature and since those of us charged with the responsibilities of governing and lawmaking have the solemn obligation to promote far more than mere survival, we must specifically consider the impact of often obscure but deeply felt human desires upon our democratic institutions.

Erich Fromm has recently written an extremely valuable book, "The Revolution of Hope: Toward a Humanized Technology." Among his brilliant insights are many which warn legislators and executives of the danger of attempting to insure stability by inhibiting humanity.

If man were infinitely malleable, there would have been no revolutions; there would have been no change because a culture would have succeeded in making man submit to its patterns without his resistance. But man, being only relatively malleable, has always reacted with protest against conditions which made the disequilibrium between the social order and his human needs too drastic or unbearable. . . . Man's protest arose not only because of material suffering; specifically human needs . . . are an equally strong motivation for revolution and the dynamics of change.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the perceptions of Fromm and Dubos are relevant to the political process and they cannot be ignored. If they are, the twilight years of the 20th century will witness the twilight of the America we know and love.

OUR COUNTRY SHOULD BE FOREVER GRATEFUL TO LYNDON JOHNSON

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the January 17,

1969, edition of the Washington Daily News:

OUR COUNTRY SHOULD BE FOREVER GRATEFUL TO LYNDON JOHNSON

As the tumultuous years of Lyndon Johnson's Presidency come to a close, it will not be disputed that he is leaving an indelible imprint on our country.

With one strong arm he tried to fight what became a giant-sized war in Asia, and with the other he tried to guide a giant-sized revolution at home.

The President himself has said he wants to be remembered as a man who tried.

He tried too much. He crowded the country—and human nature—too fast. He tried for instant success, which is nearly always improbable; and for a national consensus, which is impossible.

A man who grew up in a Jim Crow area, he tried in a single Administration to abolish prejudice and create a smooth-going rapport between the races. A just and humane objective, but not one to be achieved in a flash.

A man who had shined shoes and known the troubles of the penniless, he tried in his brief span in the White House to vanquish poverty—a condition of life which has plagued mankind since the beginning. An overwhelmingly desirable purpose, but not to be accomplished by a blitz from Washington.

More of a political activist than scholar or philosopher, Mr. Johnson seemed to see success for his goals as something to be pursued primarily by exhortation, by merely passing more laws, by spending taxpayer money.

Complex and difficult problems, unfortunately, are never overcome quickly or by simple formula. They are diminished only by long and constant effort, by understanding, by education, by a leadership which inspires wide cooperation.

Our country should be forever grateful to Lyndon Johnson for the magnificent way in which he assumed control of the government when the assassination of President Kennedy thrust that heavy duty upon him.

Because of national appreciation of his conduct in his first year as President he could have ridden the crest of popularity thru the 1964 election without promising anything. But with that exuberant self-confidence which always has been his hallmark, he promised too much.

He promised that American boys would not be called to do the fighting that Asians should do for themselves. He promised quick results in the fields of poverty and civil rights, and many more things.

They were promises which could not humanly be fulfilled, and they bred disappointments, frustrations, angry resentments, violent reactions.

The Vietnam war he inherited has hung like an albatross around his Administration's neck. He and his advisers underestimated the enormity of the conflict and the complexity of the problem.

So much was the war and its costs underestimated that one of Mr. Johnson's early acts was to talk Congress into a reduction in taxes. As the war escalated, so did the federal deficit—and so did inflation.

It was a serious miscalculation of both human and fiscal consequences.

Later, at first half-heartedly and finally with full force, he fought for and eventually obtained a war surtax—three years tardy.

Even as difficulties mounted abroad, they boiled up in this country in angry confrontations and disorders—we became a society which was anything but great.

Mr. Johnson's goals were equal rights, equal opportunity, and peace and abundance. But the harvest was unequal sacrifices and disaffection.

He never balanced the budget in his years and at times seemed to regard this as some-

thing not worth trying. But he left for his successor a budget balanced—on paper.

And along with that he bequeathed to Mr. Nixon the enormous problems of ending the Vietnam war and restoring tranquility at home.

There are areas in which the Johnson Administration's contributions have been without parallel in our history:

One is the conservation of resources—such as alerting our people to the pollution

of water and air, and to the blight of the landscape; afflictions which are so rapidly diminishing the quality of our life.

Another is the push he has given to education for all who wish it, and the laws and the support he stimulated in behalf of civil rights. And the landmark decision which set up Medicare for the elderly.

Still another is the achievement in space. This was not something he inherited, like the Vietnam war or the racial conflict. As a

leader in the Senate, he was the political architect and the driving force in setting up the space program. As vice president, he was chairman of the Aeronautics and Space Council which nurtured the program. So, as President, he was there to see astronauts Borman, Lovell and Anders fly around the moon and lift the horizons of all people.

And this, perhaps more than anything, gave a triumphant ending to his uniquely beleaguered Administration.

SENATE—Tuesday, January 21, 1969

(Legislative day of Friday, January 10, 1969)

The Senate met in executive session at 12 meridian, on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Vice President, SPIRO T. AGNEW.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, with whom we walk and for whom we labor, teach us the truth that whoever would be greatest among us must be the servant of all. Receive, O Lord, the love of our hearts and the service of our minds and hands this day that we may be instruments of Thy purpose. Give us strength to walk and work with Thee in fellowship with all Thy faithful people, that Thy kingdom may come and Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

In the Redeemer's name. Amen.

WELCOME TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

(The Vice President was greeted with applause, Senators rising.)

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, we are delighted to see you assume the gavel in this great body. Having known a good deal about you before you assumed this responsibility, I know that you will carry out those duties with high credit to yourself, to this body, and to the country.

So, we extend to you today the hand of fellowship, as we mark the beginning of another year.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. First, let me say that the rules of the House do not apply in the Senate. As some of the proponents of the pending effort to change rule XXII would state, Senators can speak at some little length on every issue.

I join the distinguished minority leader in extending congratulations to our new Presiding Officer; and if the minority leader would join me, I would like to break a rule of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that, if the Presiding Officer so desires, he may proceed for not to exceed 2 minutes. [Laughter.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, before the Presiding Officer proceeds, may I simply join in the good wishes of the Senate and

the people, in the fact that we have here a new President of the Senate. And may I add, with some transliteration of the ancient words, "Dominus Vobiscum et Cum SPIRO T. AGNEW."

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I could not let this occasion pass without adding my congratulations to those of my colleagues.

I think you will find your experience here rewarding. We know that the future here, under your guidance in the chair, will be excellent. Perhaps we still will not always be harmonious within this body, but we will accomplish great things. We bid you welcome.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I echo the sentiments which have been expressed in extending a word of welcome to the Presiding Officer.

As our majority leader has said, we look forward to many years of your service here.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with all of the leadership who have extended their greetings to you as our new Presiding Officer.

One of the unique qualities of the Senate is the fact that we have a member of the executive branch of the Government presiding over the most powerful legislative body in the world.

I welcome you here. I hope that with all of the new duties that the press reports you will assume, it will not mean you will desert the Senate or that chair, and that you will perform as often as possible the constitutional responsibility of presiding over the Senate.

I am glad to greet you here, and I extend my very best wishes and promise cooperation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appreciates the courteous and gracious remarks of the distinguished majority leader and the distinguished minority leader, the majority and minority whips, the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT), and the President pro tempore of the Senate.

The Chair is fully aware of the limited nature of his participation in these deliberations and does not wish to set a bad precedent by exceeding the time limit so graciously allowed him. He feels a tremor of uncertainty. It is not a personal uncertainty, but awe, because of the honor of presiding over this select and august deliberative body. The Chair will try to discharge the responsibilities of this office adequately and, hopefully, to the satisfaction of the Senate.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into legislative session.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of legislative business.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 20, 1969, be approved.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief period be allowed for the transaction of routine morning business, and that statements therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senate, it is not the intention of the leadership to bring up today the nomination of Mr. Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior. The reason is that an objection has been entered because neither the printed hearings nor the committee report is available. That is a courtesy we always extend to any Member.

I am sorry that that is the case, because we had intended to bring up the Hickel nomination today. If the documents are ready, it is the leadership's intention to bring up the nomination the first thing tomorrow.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield. It has nothing to do with the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. I want the Record to show very clearly that I raised the question yesterday afternoon on this matter; namely, that the hearings had not as yet been printed. I did not do that for the purpose of delay. I merely did it as a predicate to have the members of that committee on the floor to explain to us the pros and cons, their impressions of this man, his financial background, and